1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

464 167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the [472] harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

[462] It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently [357] been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager [466] before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the [362] man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

464 167 883 783 593 If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong [466] when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

464 167 Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city [578] or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasion- [595] ally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family [837] and that of his first wife.

[434] While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

462 178 167 Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may [illegible] their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sisoiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Sisoiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaoiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaoiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lâng-lí, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sím-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cí-bó-kiá, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

*597 *584 354 so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

*597 *584 *583 [435] This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sīm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sīm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

*597 • 357 648 This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cā-bô-khn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

*597 only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīn-pûà. The
• 357 adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by
648 fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù
form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would
formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment
to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to
register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīn-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the
*597 child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one
357 finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted
daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted
by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they
are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so
when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the
family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning,
the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only
difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty
years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family
because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

*597 A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form
548 of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see
later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will
not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a
stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and
[435] raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful
[434] professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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+159 cook for a large family, her intense pride prevented her from taking
x 596 gruff corrections humbly. In her own home, she had learned to dictate
+593 to a young servant, to express any frustration with a display of anger
that confused her more even-tempered parents and made the servant
• [591] scurry. Worst of all for Lim Han-ci, her dissatisfaction quickly turned to scorn for the family into which she had married. She became the only adult in the family who did not take seriously their almost fanatic desire to preserve the family's dignity and good name. She looked down on them as inferiors and saw no good name to be preserved. Her excessive evaluation of her own worth prevented her from making any friends in the village and consequently prevented her from damaging the family with idle gossip, but she was totally unwilling to control her strong feelings when their public display could only injure the family in the eyes of its neighbors. To her, they had nothing to lose.

When I came to live with the Lim family, Lim Chui-ieng had been married for seventeen years and had borne her husband six children. Most village women after this length of time visit their natal homes only rarely and have thoroughly, if not peacefully, identified with the family of their husbands and their children. Lim Chui-ieng had not made this adjustment. Family secrets, the very existence of which other family members denied, were fair topics of conversation for Chui-ieng. In her loneliness, she seized upon my interpreter as a confidante, telling her at every opportunity of the tragedy that was her life, a tragedy culminating in her marriage to Lim Chieng-cua. Even though her stories are distorted and biased in her own favor, they show what a disrupting effect she has had on the Lim family.

"I was adopted," she said, "when I was four or five months old.
+159 My father's older brother was a very well-known man, and my family
+593 was very particular about only giving daughters to a family who had
591 sons for them to marry. My grandmother was very strict, and she
584 would only let each of her three sons keep one daughter. They had to give the rest away.

"My foster mother and father quarreled a great deal from the time they were married, and so they didn't have any children. His mother decided that it would be a good idea to adopt a child for them. She thought that once they had a child they wouldn't fight anymore. She had just borne a baby girl herself, so she gave her away and adopted me to drink her milk. She wanted to get a baby so badly that